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PROLEGOMENA TO A GREEK-HEBREW AND HEBREW-GREEK INDEX TO AQUILA *

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INTRODUCTION

1. THE Oxford Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament by Hatch and Redpath, completed in 1897¹ and with its two supplements in 1906,² follows a double plan with regard to the two

* [The Indexes to which allusion is made in the present work have been completed and the manuscript has been deposited in the Library of Dropsie College. Another student in the Biblical Department of the College is engaged in preparing similar Indexes to Theodotion, and it is hoped that the work of indexing Symmachus and the other translators recorded in the Oxford Concordance, as well as the Hexaplaric matter found in Field but not excerpted in the Concordance, will be shortly undertaken by members of the College. All these Indexes when completed will be issued in one volume, which it is hoped will be welcomed by scholars as a useful supplement to Hatch and Redpath.—Professor Margolis has appended a few notes in brackets signed with the initial M.]

¹ *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (including the apocryphal books)*, by Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, assisted by other scholars. 2 vols. Oxford, 1897.—Hatch and Redpath have been preceded by Konrad Kircher *Concordantiae V^{is} Tⁱ Graecae, ebraeis vocibus respondentes πολυχρηστοι*, Frankf. a. M., 1607, 2 vols.; Abraham Tromm, *Concordantiae graecae versionis, vulgo dictae LXX interpretum, cujus voces secundum ordinem elementorum sermonis graeci digestae recensentur*. Amsterdam, 1718. 2 vols.; G. M[orrish], *A Handy Concordance of the LXX*. London, 1887. Mention must also be made of J. F. Schleusner, *Novus Thesaurus philologico-criticus sive lexicon in LXX*. London, 1829. In the last-named work there are found instructive observations which I have turned to good purpose.

² Fasc. I containing a concordance to the proper names occurring in the

main sources upon which it is based. In the case of the Septuagint, under every word the citations for all the passages in which the word occurs are given with 'as far as possible enough of the context to show (1) the grammatical construction of the word, (2) the words with which it is ordinarily associated'.³ At the head of each article an alphabetically arranged list of Hebrew (Aramaic) equivalents is found, to which throughout the article reference is made by number.⁴ This plan has been deviated from in case of numerals, prepositions, and conjunctions: instead of full citations we have merely an index of passages, and furthermore the Semitic equivalents are not given. This latter method has been followed throughout for the 'other'

Septuagint. Oxford, 1900. Fasc. II containing a concordance to Ecclesiasticus, other addenda and Hebrew index to the whole work. Oxford, 1906.

³ Preface, p. v, end. The editor goes on to say: 'But to have combined in each quotation all its points either of grammatical interest or of analogy with other passages would have made the work inordinately long: and consequently it will frequently be found that the quotations under a single word are made on different principles in order to illustrate different points relating to it.'

⁴ For a criticism of the arrangement of the work, cp. Margolis, 'Entwurf zu einer revidierten Ausgabe der hebräisch-aramäischen Äquivalente in der Oxforder Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament,' *ZAW.*, XXV (1905), pp. 311 ff.; see also Smend, *Griechisch-Syrisch-Hebräischer Index zur Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*. Berlin, 1907, pp. x ff. Both Margolis and Smend object to the quid pro quos or unidentified Greek words marked by a dagger, claiming that this lack of identification impairs the usefulness of the work for lexical purposes and textual criticism. Smend, furthermore, considers altogether impractical the arrangement of the Greek citations according to the order of the books of the Bible and not (as Tromm) according to the Hebrew equivalents. He also considers it unfortunate that the Hebrew index contained in the second Supplement gives reference to the pages in which the Greek equivalents occur and not to the equivalents themselves [similarly Glaue-Rahlf's, *Fragmente e. griech. Übersetzung d. samarit. Pentateuchs*, 52. M].

Greek versions.⁵ Both for the Septuagint and the other versions certain pronouns and particles of frequent occurrence have been omitted altogether, such as, for example, *καί* and the definite article *ὁ, ἡ, τό*.⁶

2. The work to which the following pages are introductory is intended to supplement Hatch-Redpath on the sides in which the editors have left room for improvement. While the Oxford Concordance has been taken as a basis for a new double index, Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek, to Aquila, who heads the list of the 'other' versions, it has been sought to supply two main deficiencies. In the first place references are given also for words of frequent occurrence omitted in the Oxford work.⁷ In the second place every article contains the Hebrew (Aramaic) equivalents both for the articles found and those not found in Hatch-Redpath. The need for a registration of these equivalents has been felt by all students of the Greek versions. In giving these equivalents it has been deemed advisable to deviate from the method adopted by the Oxford editors. The equivalents are presented not in alphabetical order, but with regard to frequency. Another feature is

⁵ Smend, *l. c.*, considers this as one of the weak points in the Concordance.

⁶ Cp. Schmiedel, *Georg Benedict Winer's Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*⁸, Göttingen, 1894, p. xv. Schmiedel not only criticizes the omission of certain prepositions and particles in the Concordance, but also the failure to reproduce the whole phrase in connexion with the prepositions and particles, for 'es kann doch keinen Augenblick zweifelhaft sein, dass hier das Ausschreiben des Textes 100 Mal wichtiger ist als z. B. bei *ἀνθρώπος* oder *ἀνὴρ*'. He considers this 'den schwersten Fehler des Werkes'.

⁷ That such words are important and have a bearing on Aquila's manner of translation and exegesis may be seen from his use of the definite article, cp. Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the translation of Aquila*. Cambridge, 1897, p. 12 f. See also below.

the arrangement of compounds and derivatives under the head of the *simplicia*, though the former are also entered in the alphabetical place with cross-references.⁸

3. So far as the 'other' versions and in particular Aquila, the subject of the present effort, is concerned, the material gathered together in the Oxford Concordance is based chiefly on Field's monumental work,⁹ but incorporates also later material contained in the printed works of Pitra,¹⁰ Swete,¹¹ Klostermann,¹² Morin,¹³ Burkitt,¹⁴

⁸ This plan of arrangement was outlined fully by Margolis, *l.c.* It is justified by the fact that it is in the nature of the Hebrew to ignore the shades of meaning brought out by a preposition attached to the verb in Greek; e.g. וַיִּשָּׁלַח may be rendered by either *oikeîn*, *êvoukeîn*, *karoukeîn*, or *paroukeîn*; and hence it is more practical to have them all grouped together.

⁹ 'Monumentum exegit, hisce diebus, Fredericus Fieldius, in summum decus utriusque Academiae Oxoniensis et Cantabrigiensis,' Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata*, Tom. III, p. 551. The full title of Field's work is: *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt; sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta*. Post Flaminium Nobilium, Drusium, et Montefalconium, adhibita etiam versione Syro-Hexaplati, concinnavit, emendavit, et multis partibus auxit Fridericus Field. Tom. II. Oxonii, 1875.

¹⁰ *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata*. Tom. III. E Typographeo Veneto, 1883, pp. 551 ff.

¹¹ *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*. 3 vols. Cambridge, 1887-94. Of especial value are the excerpts from Q (Codex Marchalianus).

¹² *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik*. Leipzig, 1895, pp. 47 ff.

¹³ *Anecdota Maredsolana seu Monumenta Ecclesiasticae Antiquitatis ex MSS. codicibus nunc primum edita aut denuo illustrata*. Vol. III, Pars I: Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Commentarioli in Psalmos. Vol. III, Pars III: Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus novissime reperti. Maredsoli, 1895-1903. Valuable material bearing on the later Greek versions is found in these works of Jerome.

¹⁴ *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the translation of Aquila*. Cambridge, 1897.

Taylor,¹⁵ and, in one instance, unpublished fragments discovered by Dr. Mercati of the Vatican Library; who 'very kindly lent the Editor . . . a transcript of the fragments'.¹⁶

4. It is to be regretted that the excerpting of Field has been done with little attention to the Hebrew,¹⁷ and betrays occasionally a mechanical haste which has resulted in the incorporation of words which never formed part of the text in question.¹⁸ But another disappointing feature

¹⁵ *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter collection, including a Fragment of the Twenty-second Psalm according to Origen's Hexapla.* Cambridge, 1900.

¹⁶ See on this find Klostermann, *ZAW.*, XVI (1896), 336 f. It is to be regretted that the important publication is still due.

¹⁷ Thus under the article *κόρος* (*satietas*) the references Exod. 8. 14 (10) *bis*; 3 Kings 5. 11 (25) are to be taken out and transferred to the preceding article *κόρος* (*corus*). The Hebrew equivalents are *חָמַר* in Exodus and *כָּר* in Kings. Another grave error of a similar character is found in the article *εὐρίσκειν*, where Ps. 77 (78), 26 is entered for Symmachus. Field has correctly *εὐρον*, which the excerpter misread as *εὐρον*; the Hebrew is *קָרַיִם*. Hence insert on p. 579 at the head of column 3

εὐρος

[Sm., Ps. 77 (78), 26].

An example of carelessness appears to be the reference Ezek. 32. 6 for *α' σ' θ'* under the article *προχώρημα*.—Under the article *κέρδος* delete the *α'* reference (Ezek. 27. 24). Field has correctly *κέρδος* which is duly entered in the Concordance *s. v.*—The *α'* reference *s. v.* *ἀδρύνειν* should be placed under the article preceding (*ἀδρός*); at the same time write *σ'* for *α'*.—The *α'* reference *s. v.* *ἡχεῖν* Ps. 67 (68), 18 should be transferred to *σ'*. Delete the *α'* reference 3 Kings 3. 3 *s. v.* *θύειν*.—The article *κίτρος* should be credited to **A1**. instead of *α'*. In the article *κοσκίνωμα* add: *α' σ' θ'* Exod. 27. 4. This is a plain omission, the accompanying adjective *δικτυωτός* being duly entered *s. v.*

¹⁸ *Sub* *ἐκδιδόναι* the Concordance has: *α' θ'* Jer. 37 (44), 12 (which reference is repeated under *σ'*). Field gives (*Auctarium*, p. 47 f.) from codd. 86, 88 a rendering of ver. 11 f., attributed to Joannes (see Field's *Prolegomena*, pp. xciii f.), which he follows up by the scholion (from cod. 88) *Καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ὁμοίως ἐξέδωκαν*. The excerpter took this to mean:

consists in the fact that the excerpter appears to have considered his task done when he paid attention to Field's text, disregarding on the whole Field's illuminating notes below, which in many instances serve to modify the text above in essential points.¹⁹

And the remaining [translators] likewise [have] ἐξέδωκαν. Of course, the correct English is: And the remaining [translators] have rendered in a like manner. The reference is to קְלָחָה, for which Joannes has εἰς τὸ νείμασθαι τὸν κλῆρον (to obtain possession of the lot), and so similarly α' θ' τοῦ μερίσθηναι σ' μερίσασθαι (on the exegesis of the Hebrew as well as on the variant reading underlying the Septuagintal rendering ἀγοράσαι, see Margolis, *JAOS.*, XXX (1910), 308 f.). On p. 1503, col. 2, ἐκζειν α' σ', Ezek. 24. 13 (from Swete) is to be struck out. Swete adduces from Q: * θ' ἐν τη ἀκαθαρσία σου ζεμμα (ζεμα with one μ, Q^a) and from Q^{ms} ad ζεμ(μ)α: α' σ' συνταγή ζεμα ἐξεξεσε. The excerpter took the whole phrase as coming from α' σ', whereas it is clear that only συνταγή belongs to the two; what follows is a gloss on ζεμα (θ' 's rendering) which is erroneously combined with Greek (ἐκ)ζειν 'boil over'.—*Sub* ἔσω strike out the references α' σ' θ' 1 Kings 26. 19, and θ' 1 Kings 25. 1. In the latter place Field has (from the margin of 243) ο' ραμα θ' το εσω 'h. e. *quod intus* (in textu) *habetur*' (so Field explicitly below the text). The purport of the marginal note is to say that Origen wrote in the Septuagint column ραμα = Πῶ, whereas θ' had the same as in the text, i. e. Ἀρμαθαίμ. In the other passage λ' τὸ ἔσω means that they read as in the text ἐν κληρονομία. Accordingly two additional entries are obtained for α' σ' θ' under ἐν and κληρονομία. A clear example of superficial haste is the ignoring of a period (.). Job 2. 9, Field prints: α' θ' καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή. ÷ χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ προβεβηκότος χ. Οὐ κείται ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ. The whole means that in the place of the Septuagintal χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ προβεβηκότος (a free expansion) which, as is expressly noted, is not found in the Hebrew, α' θ' had merely the conjunction καί. The excerpter's eye overlooked Field's period after γυνή and thus included χρόνου (see *s. v.*) in the phrase ascribed to α' θ'; curiously enough there is no reference to Job 2. 9, α' θ' *s. v.* πολὺς and προβαίνειν!

¹⁹ A case in point has been met at the end of the previous note, where surely a glance at Field's notes would have made impossible the error of citing *sub* ἔσω the meaningless references there given. Had the notes been consulted, a further faulty reference should have been added: α' θ' 1 Kings 25. 31 (see foot-note 45). But here Field wisely kept out of his text the phraseology of the gloss and merely registered the result. Obviously it was the excerpter's duty in every case to square the text with the notes, which,

5. Much valuable instruction as Field's notes offer, the scope of the present work would have been incomplete

however, he failed to do. The examples are so numerous that only a selection can be pointed out here. Thus *sub ἀναθεματίζειν*, Deut. 3. 3 and 6, are attributed to α'. Now Field (foot-note 1) correctly records the tradition according to which α' had ἀνεθεματίσαμεν for Θ' ἐπατάξαμεν = (יְהוָה) and just as rightly remarks 'invitis Regiis tribus . . . , qui lectionem ad ver. 6 recte retrahunt'; on the basis of the latter authority he prints in ver. 6 α' ἀνεθεματίσαμεν for Θ' ἐξωλοθρεύσαμεν = דָּרְסוּהֶם. The Editors of the Concordance were free either to adopt Field's suggestion and therefore to quote 3. 6 or to follow tradition implicitly and hence to record 3. 3. Only by disregarding the notes was it possible for them to register both 3. 3 and 3. 6. In my own Index 3. 3 is of course deleted. Similarly the reference 4 Kings 2. 14 (for α' σ' θ') *sub κρύφιος* should be eliminated: Theodoret ascribes the rendering to 'the other ἐρμηνευταί', but Field (note 22) expressly adds 'ubi ἐρμηνευταί de *enarratoribus*, non de *interpretibus* intelligendum videtur'. We are dealing here merely with a fanciful etymology which combined *αφρω* with Hebrew נֶחֱבֵה and is no worse than *αφρω πατέρες* (combined with נֶחֱבֵה) in the Onomastica Vaticana; see Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*², 187. 43. As a matter of fact, α' wrote *καίπερ αὐτός* and σ' *καὶ νῦν* (see Field). Strike out also the first reference *sub φύλαξις* (α', Isa. 26. 3). See Field, under note 8; the emendation *φυλάξις* (of which *φυλαξις* is an itacistic error) *εἰρήνην* is self-evident. See further my Greek Index, s.v. *εἰς, εἰς, ἐν, ἐπικαλύπτειν, ἐδρίσκειν, ζῶουν, ἰά, καλεῖν, σύντονος, τοίχος*. Many words and references have been incorporated by the Editors where Field has indicated his doubt by printing the phrases in question in brackets. In my Index they are omitted. Such are, for instance, Job 27. 20 *ἐν περιστάσει μὴ ἐκφύγοι*; Prov. 31. 3 *τὰ σὰ χρήματα*; Isa. 3. 8 *κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου γέγονεν*; *ibid.*, 40. 24 *ἄνεμος*; Jer. 20. 9 *φέρειν*; *ibid.* 31 (38). 22, *ἐν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ*; *ibid.* 44 (51). 29 *εἰς κακὰ*; Amos 1. 2, *προβάτων*. In nearly all of these cases there is no Hebrew to correspond in the MT. Field's notes, if they had been at all consulted, would have led to the transfer of several references from α' to σ', θ', or A1. The Editors' point of view may have been to follow the traditional signature and to refrain from criticism however justified. In my own Index I have thought it advisable, with due reference to what Field has to say in the notes, to indicate a reasonable doubt in tradition by printing all such words or references in brackets. See s.v. *ἀνευλαβής; ἀπόθετος* Ps. 30 (31). 20; *ἀποθνήσκειν* Job 14. 14; *ἄφοβος; διαμένειν; δυσωπεισθαι; μέγας* 2 Kings 5. 10; *πάνιν; παρά* Jer. 52. 8; *πρόσωπον* Job 20. 25. I have similarly included in brackets words and references which tradition ascribes to α' and where the signature has been rightly enclosed by Field in brackets; in his notes are found the

had not an attempt been made to transcend Field in the application of critical canons to the mass of fragments which tradition ascribes to Aquila. At the time when Field published his work (1875) no continuous text of Aquila's Greek version had come to light. Foremost among the new finds exhibiting a continuous Aquila text stand Taylor's Cairo and Mercati's Milan Palimpsests of the remains of the Hexapla Psalter. In both Aquila occupies the (third) column immediately after the (second) column containing the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew. This is in conformity with the testimony of Eusebius, Jerome, and Epiphanius concerning the order of the Hexaplaric columns.²⁰ On comparing the text²¹ with the data in Field we find that though on the whole there is agreement there are nevertheless more or less important divergencies; and above all we are taught to distrust the signatures which Field faithfully copied from his sources.²²

reasons upon which he bases his doubts. For examples, see my Index, *s. v.* εὐθύτης Jer. 13. 10; ἐν 1 Kings 14. 18; θεός *ibid.*; καρδία Jer. 13. 10; μετὰ Gen. 16, 6; παρεμβολή 1 Kings 14. 18; πονηρός Jer. 13. 10; ὑπαναχωρεῖν; φυγή.

²⁰ See Swete, *Introduction to the OT. in Greek*, 1900, 64.

²¹ Ps. 21 (22). 20-27, Taylor; 45 (46). 1-4, Mercati *apud* Klostermann, *ZAW.*, XVI (1896), 336 f. (Swete, *l. c.*, 62 f.).

²² Here is a collation in detail (including also the data for σ' θ'): Ps. 21. 15 σ' (καὶ) διέστη F(ield) = καὶ διεστη T(aylor): 17 σ' ὅτι ἐκύκλωσάν με θηραταί F contrast περιεκυκλω (*sic*) γὰρ με κυνες T; 21 α' μοναχὴν (μου) σ' τὴν μονότητά μου (in part based on Syrohex.) F = α' μοναχην μου σ' την μονοτητα μου T; Ps. 45. 1 α' τῷ νικοποιῷ τῶν νιῶν Κορὲ ἐπὶ νεανιοτήτων μελῳδῆμα F = M(ercati) with the exception of the last word which is ασμα in M (see my Index, *s. v.* μελῳδῆμα: it is used for יִשְׁׁ only in this place, while in the other twenty instances it invariably renders מְלִיחָה; while ᾄσμα = יִשְׁׁ in all cases but one); on the other hand σ' 's rendering in F tallies in every particular with that in M; 2 α' σ' εὐρέθη σφόδρα. Ἄλλος ἐν θλίψεσιν εὐρισκόμενος (Field's sources are Syrohex. ܐܠܠܝܫ ܕܥܢ ܬܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ) —Field adds that the Syrian must have followed a faulty reading εὐρέθης σφόδρα—and Chrysost.:.

Next in order come the Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection edited by Burkitt and Taylor, which show us manuscripts of Aquila as they were current among Greek-speaking Jews in a form which in its origin is older than the Hexapla. The portions extant cover 3 Kings 21 (20). 9-17; 4 Kings 23. 12-27; Ps. 89 (90). 17; 90 (91); 91 (92). 1-10; 95 (96). 7-13; 96 (97); 97 (98). 3; 101 (102). 16-29; 102 (103). 1-13; and the text is continuous (barring lacunae owing to the imperfect condition of the manuscript). In designating the version as Aquila's no external evidence such as the Hexapla Fragments revealed was available, and the editors were thrown back upon the scanty citations in Field, but in the main upon the internal character of the version which comports with the general statements concerning it in patristic literature.²³

Ἄλλος· ἐν θλ. εὐρισκόμενος; Nobil.: Οἱ λοιποὶ· εὐρέθη εὐρισκόμενος, which Field rightly divides into εὐρέθη and εὐρισκόμενος) F comp. α' ἐν θλιψεσιν ευρεθης (the actual faulty reading presupposed by Syrohex.) σφοδρα σ' ἐν θλιψεσιν ευρισκομενος σφοδρα M (while σ' rightly took נִצְרָה to be a participle, α' rendered it as a perfect); 3 α' σφάλλῃσθαι σ' κλίνεσθαι F = M; 4 α' υπερηφανία F = M; the long quotation from σ' in F agrees with M except that αὐτῶν is omitted in M (see Field's note). It is interesting in this connexion to study the bearing of the new texts on the Syrohex, material which Field has done into Greek. 21. 17 σ' ἐκύκλωσαν F contrast περιηλθον T (the Syriac has ܠܡܠܝܚܐ both for α' and σ'; but ܡܠܝܚܐ corresponds to κυκλοῦν, comp. for instance Joshua 6. 3, 4, 15, and also to περιέρχεσθαι, comp. Joshua 6. 7, 11, 15); σ' ὡς ζητοῦντες δῆσαι χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας μου F contrast ὡς λεωντας χειρας μου και τους ποδας μου T; 18 σ' only ἐμοῦ is to be corrected into μου and καί excised; 20 α' σ' σπεύσον F = T; 22 α' εἰσήκουσάς με F contrast εἰσακουσον μου T, σ' τὴν κάκωσίν μου F = T; 25 α' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ F contrast ἐξ αὐτου T; 26 α' πολλῇ F = T; 27 πραεῖς sine nomine (strike out the article) F = α' T; 45. 3 α' σ' ἐν τῇ ἀλλάσσεσθαι τὴν γῆν F contrast α' ἐν ται ανταλλασσεσθαι γην (note the compound and the omission of the article) σ' ἐν ταις (r. ται) συγχεισθαι γην M; *ibid.*, in α' strike out the article (δρη); 4 according to M α' has αε[ι for ܐܝܬܐ.

²³ See the references below (Chapter I).

Now in comparing these texts with Field we find again notable agreement, but also differences and untrustworthy signatures.²⁴ It is therefore clear that where Field is our sole authority for an Aquila rendering the whole force of internal evidence must come into play if we are minded to give to Aquila what is his and not perchance the property of another. Field's sources, whether we consider the stores collected by his predecessors²⁵ or his own notable additions, are ultimately patristic citations or excerpts from the Hexaplaric columns found between the lines or on the margin of codices of the Septuagint, or again asterisked elements of the fifth Hexaplar column to which a signature is attached. Aside from the fact that Field will bear

²⁴ Thus, to mention only important deviations, Ps. 90. 6 *ῥήματος* (which would presuppose *רִמָּה* for *רִמָּה*) F contrast *λοιμον* T (which reading Field postulates in note 12 on the basis of Syrohex.); 11 T has *σε* after *εντελειται* (r. *σοι* = *לך*); 91. 4 *εβλη* F contrast *ναβλη* T; 7 the first *και* in F is rightly missing in T (comp. Hebr.). T frequently omits the article where F has it (so Ps. 90. 1, 2, 7, 12; 95. 7 *bis*, 11, 12 *bis*); the matter has some importance in dealing with *a'*'s manner of translation.

Thus F's doubt as to the correctness of the signature 90. 4 end is substantiated by T: in the place of *ὡς πανοπλία* *a'* has simply *ασπις*; *ibid.*, 7 the double signature *a' σ'* is to be taken *a parte potiori*; according to T *a'* has not *εκ* but *απο*; as for the article see preceding note.

²⁵ The first to collect Hexaplaric fragments was Petrus Morinus who incorporated them in annotations to the so-called editio Sixtina or Romana of the Greek Bible, published in 1587 at Rome. After him Joannes Drusius published the same material under the title: *Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum V. T. Fragmenta, collecta, versa et notis illustrata a Johanne Drusio*, Arnheim, 1622. Drusius's work was followed by Lambertus Bos, *Vetus Testamentum ex versione LXX interpretum secundum exemplar Vaticanum Romae editum, una cum Scholiis ejusdem editionis, variis MSS. codicum veterumque exemplarium lectionibus, necnon Fragmentis versionum Aquilae, Symmachi et Theodotionis*, Franequerae, 1709. A more complete edition was that of D. Bernardus de Montfaucon, the immediate predecessor of Field. His work is entitled: *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, multis partibus auctiora quam a Flamminio Nobilio et Joanne Drusio edita fuerint*, Tom. II. Parisiis, 1713.

correction from an ocular inspection of the codices he quotes on the authority of his predecessors or the 'schedae Holmesianae'—the margin of the Larger Cambridge Septuagint, as well as the works of Pitra and Swete, yield important material—caution is requisite even where there is no ground to suspect that the manuscripts have in any way been departed from. In the first place the signatures may be wrong,²⁶ or the notes may have been

²⁶ There is particular cause for doubt where a rendering is ascribed to α' in common with other translators. Comp. Ps. 48 (49). ιθ α' θ' ε' σ' ἀκολου-
θοῦσα; this is true enough so far as σ' goes, comp. the phrase in full
preserved in another source οὐδὲ συγκαταβήσεται ἀκολουθοῦσα αὐτῷ ἢ δόξα
αὐτοῦ, whereas according to the same source α' wrote οὐδὲ συγκαταβήσεται
ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ δόξα αὐτοῦ. Now ἀκολουθεῖν is never elsewhere used by α'
while σ' apparently is very fond of the verb (see *Concordance*, s.v.). Very
likely the ascription to α' rests on an error.—Isa. 22. 14 יהיה יְהוָה אִמְרָא
נִתְּנָא α' θ' εἶπεν κύριος κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων. Montfaucon referred it rightly
to σ' θ', stating as his reason that α' always puts στρατιῶν for נִתְּנָא. See
furthermore below.—Examples with α' included in the generic signature οἱ
λοιποί: 1 Kings 20. 19 וַיֵּשְׁבֻּם לֵאמֹר α' καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ, but we have for α' with
specific ascription καὶ τρισσεύσας; 4 Kings 15. 5 בְּיָמֵינוּ הָיוּ שְׂדֵי חַסְדִּים α' με-
κρυσφάως (Theodore), but contrast α' ἐν οἴκῳ τῆς ἐλευθερίας (cod. 243 sup-
ported by the Syrohex.), Job 21. 23 הָיוּ מַצְעָצָעִים α' ισχύων ἀμωμος but
contrast α' ἐν ὁστεώσει ἀπλότητος αὐτοῦ so characteristically in conformity
with α's diction; Ps. 36 (37). 37 f. οἱ λ' τοὺς μέλλοντας (ver. 37) τὰ ἔσχατα
(ver. 38) (Procop.; this is the meaning of his remark though it is a trifle
confused) which is true enough for σ' who writes μέλλοντα in ver. 37 and
τὰ ἔσχατα in ver. 38, while α' is expressly credited with ἔσχατον (note the
sing.) in both verses; Ezek. 1. 24 וַיֵּשְׁבֻּם לֵאמֹר α' θεοὺ σαδδαί but contrast α' ἰκανοῦ
(α' nowhere else transliterates וַיֵּשְׁבֻּם); 12. 10 הָיוּ הַמַּלְאָכִים הַגְּבִיעִים θ' και λ'.
ὁ ἀρχων ὁ ἀφηγούμενος οὗτος but contrast α' τὸ ἐπηγγεμένον τὸ ἄρμα τοῦτο and
σ' περὶ τοῦ ἀρχοντος τὸ λήμμα τοῦτο; Hos. 10. 15 וַיֵּשְׁבוּ α' λ' ὡς ὕρπος but
contrast α' ἐν ὄρφρῳ. While in all these cases the conflicting testimony may
be explained as going back to the two editions of Aquila (see below), it is
just as likely, and in many instances much more probable, that the inclusion
of α' under οἱ λοιποὶ rests on an error. Important in this connexion is the
remark of Prof. G. F. Moore (*AJSL.*, XXIX (1912), 39, n. 9) that 'Field,
in the greater part of his Hexapla, follows Montfaucon in the error' of
resolving the construction λ, which is found on the margin of codd. of the

attached to the wrong word.²⁷ Then we meet with doublets, one element in which alone can belong to Aquila.²⁸ Quite another matter are parallel renderings

Septuagint, by *λοιποι*, whereas in reality Lucian (*Λουκιανός*) was meant. Comp., e. g., Num. 3. 22 in BM, where *א' ס'* render פקודיהם by *επισκεμμενοι*, while to *λ* (as well as *ο'*) is attributed *επισκεψις*.

²⁷ Thus Job 38. 7 Field cites *א' θ' ἅμα υἱοὶ θεοῦ* to the words of the text אֱלֹהִים בְּלִבֵּי אֱלֹהִים ⑤ *pántes áγγελοι μου*; but while *ἅμα* is found for בָּל (ἡ ἐκκλησία ἅμα בל הקהל) 2 Chron. 30. 23 ⑤, it is unlikely that *א'* would indulge in such freedom; it is more probable that *ἅμα* in Field's source was misplaced from the line above and belongs in front of *ἀστρα*, where indeed Syrohex. places it (see Field).—Isa. 30. 33, I am inclined to think that *α' κέδρινα* does not belong to מְרִרָה but to מְרִירָה, comp. נָפַר עָצִי Gen. 6. 14 *εν τω εβραιω εξ ξυλων κεδριων* i^m (BM); but it ought to be stated that *α'* has there *ασηπτων τεθε(ι)ωμενων*.—Zeph. 1. 12 שָׁחַף אֵלֶיךָ לֹאִימֹתַי וְלֹאִימֹתַי וְלֹאִימֹתַי *οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ ἐκδικήσω*: not only *καί* is puzzling here but also *ἐκδικεῖν*, which is used by *α' θ' Ἑβραῖος* and Ἄλλος for נָקַם only and is not so easy as an equivalent for פָּשַׁע; hence Schleusner may be right with his suggestion that *καὶ ἐκδικήσω* belongs to the following מְרִירָה [Schleusner is wrong. ⑤ has itself *καὶ ἐκδικήσω*; hence the marginal note would have been purposeless. Moreover, according to Dr. Reider's own Index, פָּקַד is rendered uniformly in *α'* *ἐπισκέπτειν*. M].

²⁸ Here is a list which is fairly complete: Exod. 28. 33 BM register for *α'* *διαφορου διβαφου* for שָׁנִי, but the former alone belongs to *α'*, who uses it four more times for שָׁנִי (which he derives from שָׁנָה = be different), while the second is peculiar to *σ'* alone, who employs it also 28. 5; 35. 23, 35.—Judges 18. 7 *α' καὶ οὐκ ἐνῆν κατασχύνων οὐδὲ διατρέπων*, Field casts suspicion on the derivation of the rendering as a whole from *α'*, pointing to Job 11. 3, where *α'* has *ἐντρέπων* for מְכַלֵּי, and to Isa. 29. 22, where the rarer verb *διατρέπεσθαι* is used by *σ'* (for Hebr. הָרַךְ, *θ'* has *ἐν-*); to which may be added that *κατασχύνων* and *διατρέπων* are apparently parallel renderings for Hebr. מְכַלֵּי and that the same doublet, only in an inverted order, occurs in the B text of the Septuagint (which also has a doublet for εὐπύ: *ἐκπιέζων θησαυροῦ*; the second element would appear to have been introduced from Origen, see Field); there is no reason therefore to discard the entire rendering as not belonging to *α'*; it is true, *ἐνῆν* does not sound as an *α'* rendering; but of the two verbs used for מְכַלֵּי *κατασχύνων* might credibly be assigned to *α'*, and it should be excised in the B text as a foreign element.—2 Kings 3. 22 מְהִירָה *α'* (ἀπὸ) τοῦ γεδδὼρ μονοζώνου, Field calls the whole rendering in question in view of the express citation *α' ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐζώνου* in cod. 243 and parallel passages where *α'* consistently writes *εὐζωνος* for מְהִירָה; still the case may be disposed of in this way: in the

ascribed to Aquila which go back to the two editions of his work; the subject is adequately dealt with by Field in his *Prolegomena*.²⁹

Naturally enough the text of Aquila is here and there handed down in a faulty condition. No mention shall be made here of errors set right by Field; but a few which have escaped his attention are given below.³⁰ Lastly, an

doublet *μονοζώνου* represents a textual variant of *ευζωνου*, while the transliteration cannot possibly come from *α'*, γεδδούρ for גִּדְדִּי being found in the Septuagint of Kings and Chronicles (see 1 Kings 30. 8, 15, 15, 23; 1 Chron. 12. 21 (22); [2 Chron. 22. 1, 93^{ms}; comp. also 1 Ch. 12. 7 (8) γεδ(δ)ωρ. M]).—Jer. 20. 2 οἱ γ' καὶ ἐνέβαλεν καὶ ἔδωκεν: this note should be corrected in accordance with Q^{ms} καὶ ἐνέβαλεν οἱ γ' καὶ ἔδωκεν, Hebr. וַיִּתֵּן.—Add from Pitra, Exod. 8. 7 (3) בְּלִיַּיִם א' ἐν ἡρεμαίῳ ἀποκρύφῳ, where the second element does not belong to *α'*, see Field *ad loc.* and comp. 7. 11, 22; also Ps. 20 (21). 12 α' ἐλογίσαντο ἐννοίας βουλήν ἣν οὐ μὴ δύνανται ἀδυνάτους; σ' διελογίσαντο βουλὰς ἀς οὐ μὴ δύνανται; θ' ἐλογίσαντο ἀπ' ἐννοίαν οὐ μὴ δύν.: there is much confusion here, one is tempted to vindicate for *α'* what is ascribed to *θ'* (comp. ἀπ' = כּוֹן מִן taken as a preposition, but it exercises no influence on the construction, the noun being placed in the accusative; furthermore, absence of the relative exactly as in Hebrew); in the rendering attributed to *α'* ἀδυνάτους and ἐννοίας belong to *σ'* (see Field).

²⁹ pp. xxiv ff.

³⁰ Thus Job 21. 17 אֵי א' ἐπικλυσμός is probably to be emended to ἐπιβλυσμός: the former is found only once in the Greek Bible (*σ'* for Hebrew שִׁטָּה Dan. 9. 26), while the latter is exclusively an *α'* word and is used uniformly for אֵי (י) א'; the interchange of *κ* and *β* is a usual occurrence in cursive script.—Ps. 34 (35). 28 תִּהְיֶה לִּי א' ὑμνήσει σε read perhaps ὑμνησέ σου = ὑμνήσιν σου; certainly it is unlikely that *α'* read תִּהְיֶה לִּי.—82 (83). 3 ὤκλασαν is probably miswritten for ὤχλασαν; see Index, *s. v.* ὤχλασαν.—Isa. 7. 20 אֲשִׁירָה בְּמִלְכִּי א' ἐν βασιλείᾳ Ἀσσυρίων read ἐν βασιλείᾳ Ἀσσυρίαν (α dittographed).—Jer. 5. 31 יִרְדּוּ א' ἐπεκρότουν has been emended by Cappellus and L. Bos (*apud* Schleusner) to ἐπεκράτουν; the same error underlies ἐπεκρότησαν in the Septuagint, comp. also 3 Kings 9. 23 A.—6. 25 לְאִיִּב א' τῶν ἐθνῶν read τῶν ἐχθρῶν.—Ezek. 19. 7 אֲלִמְנוּתָיו א' χώρας read χήρας.—26. 4 חֲוִלֹת צָר א' σ' θ (τὰ τείχη) σου read σόρ, comp. ⑤.—Hos. 12. 8 (9) לִי אֲנִי א' ἀνωφελὲς αὐτῷ read ἐμαντῷ like ⑥.—From Pitra: Gen. 14. 23 α' ἰμάτιον read ἰμάντος, so j^m s^m according to BM (see also Field, n. 23), Hebr. שְׂרוֹן; 15. 12 תִּרְדְּמָה א' κάρσος σ' κάρος, comp. α' κορος (κορσος C₂)

important point, to which as far as I know scant attention has been paid, deserves on that very account to be emphasized. It follows from the nature of the majority of notes, be they patristic or marginal, that the aim is to contrast a rendering of the later Greek versions with that in the Septuagint. Where the rendering consists of a whole phrase the tendency was to be accurate in the point of difference which was essential for the moment, and to be less exact with non-essentials which were therefore accommodated to the diction of the Septuagint. In other words, renderings ascribed to the Three are frequently to be understood *a parte potiori*. To illustrate by an example: Joshua 1. 1 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, Θ τῷ Ἰησοῦ νῖῶ Navή. α' σ' πρὸς Ἰησοῦν νῖδον Navή; the salient point is that whereas Θ construed εἶπεν with the dative, both α' and σ' wrote πρὸς c. acc. for Hebr. לְ; that much may be relied upon; but it would be hazardous to follow the source for the other parts of the phrase; α' at least cannot be credited with the graecized Ἰησοῦν, for well-understood reasons; Deut. 1. 38 we know from the margin of M that α' wrote Ἰωσουα (so BM; Field has Ἰησουα); accordingly α' must have written here προς Ἰωσουα, and we may even go farther and complete the phrase to read νιον Νουν (we find Exod. 33. 11 νυν in F^b and Deut. 1. 38 νονη in F^b M^m, read in both places Νουν, comp. Θ 1 Chron. 7. 27 where Νουμ BA should of course be corrected into Νουν, so Lagarde's text). Instructive is also the following example: Job 5. 5 וְיָקָחוּ אֲנִי וְכָל מַצְצֵי, Θ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ κακῶν οὐκ ἐξαίρετοι ἔσονται, α' αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς σ' καρος j^m s^m v^m c₃^m in BM who also quote α' σ' nausea from Barh.; Field prints in the text α' κῶρος σ' κάρος, he adds in a note that though the α' reading which he prints is best attested it is nevertheless unsatisfactory; it would seem to me that both α' and σ' wrote κάρος, which alone corresponds to the Hebrew.

ἐνόπλων ἀρθήσεται, σ' αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς ἐνόπλων ἀρθήσονται. It is evident at a glance that personal pronoun + δέ, common to all these versions, really belongs to Θ (and σ'): apart from the fact that α' could not have used it because it has no equivalent in MT, the phrase itself is foreign to α's diction while being peculiar to the Septuagint; note the use of δέ, whereas α' would employ καί. This being of less moment they were not exact in quoting it, while quoting carefully the point of difference: πρὸς ἐνόπλων ἀρθήσεται.

6. It is obvious that my own Index, constructed as it is with due regard to the critical points just enumerated, will in turn furnish a means by which many questions of detail will solve themselves. For naturally the double Index, Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek, resolves itself into a complete storehouse of observations concerning the various sides of Aquila as a translator and student of the Scriptures. By way of summing up the material which is necessarily scattered in the Index itself, I propose to present in the following chapters a study of

- I. Aquila's Manner of Translation;
- II. Aquila's Knowledge of the Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon;
- III. Aquila's Exegesis;
- IV. The Hebrew Text underlying Aquila's Version.

In the concluding pages a number of unsolved problems will be laid before the reader.

CHAPTER I

AQUILA'S MANNER OF TRANSLATION

7. THE character of Aquila's Greek style which is bound up with his mannerism as a translator is customarily summed up in the one epithet: extremely literal. Already from antiquity we have comments which run to the effect that Aquila was 'a slave to the letter' (δουλεύων τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ λέξει),³¹ who strove to render 'not merely words, but even syllables and letters (*qui non solum verba, sed etymologias quoque verborum transferre conatus est . . . et syllabas interpretatur et literas*)'.³² The standard examples by which these comments were accompanied refer in the first place to the rendering of the *nota accusativi* תָּנ by *σύν*, as, for instance, Gen. 1. 1 ἐν κεφαλῇ εἰκτισεν θεὸς σύν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σύν τὴν γῆν,³³ and in the second place to

³¹ Origen, *Epist. ad Afric.* 3.

³² Jerome, *Epist. LVII ad Pammachium*, 11.

³³ *Ibid.*, supplemented by Field from Philoponus; comp. now BM (from U₂). See Index, *s. v. σύν*. This particle is used whenever תָּנ is followed by the Hebrew article or by לְ, otherwise the Greek article takes the place of *σύν*. Furthermore, *σύν* when employed for the *nota accusativi* תָּנ, has no influence on the construction. Comp. on all this Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings*, &c., p. 12. This rule, it must be remembered, is based only on the later finds; in Field's *Hexapla*, owing probably to the fault of the copyists, *σύν* is very often missing where we have reason to expect it. There can be no question but that א' in his anxiety to express in Greek the Hebrew particle followed the hermeneutics of the day, according to which תָּנ no less than הָא and הַ served to indicate inclusion (רְבוּי; see XXXII Middot of R. Jose the Galilean, § 1, ed. Katzenellenbogen, pp. 9 ff.; Berakot 14 b, l. 9 from below; b. Pesahim 22 b; Hagigah 12 a; Gen. r. 1. 14 (ed. Theodor, p. 12); Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, pp. 124 f., 182 ff.; Strack, *Einleitung in den Talmud*⁴, 124; Friedmann, *Onkelos und Akylas*, p. 33,

such odd words or new coinages as χεῦμα, δπωρισμός, στυλπνότης for יָנַן, פִּירֶשׁ, יִצְהָר.³⁴ Another instance of 'unseemly' slavishness and 'cacophony' which is singled out is the repetition after the manner of Hebrew of an

n. 2). So in this very passage, e.g., the Rabbis say that אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם is inclusive of sun, moon, and stars, and אֵת הָאָרֶץ of trees, herbs, and the Garden of Eden. It is immaterial for our purposes whether the Middah in question was evolved by Akiba or his predecessors, nor does it matter whether Aquila was a pupil of R. Akiba (or, according to another account, of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua) or merely a contemporary of these scholars, as Friedmann, *l. c.*, contends; it is sufficient to know that *a'*'s literalism was in deference to the hermeneutics of the day.

Although the Concordance registers *συν* c. acc. also for *σ'* and *θ'*, a doubt may be expressed as to whether these two translators could be guilty of so pronounced a literalism which according to the uniform testimony of antiquity characterizes *a'* alone. Where, as in Jer. 28 (35). 10 and 32 (39). 9, the signature is generic (*γ'* or *παντες*), it is safe to say that *συν* belongs to *a'* alone; instructive is the second passage where Q^{mg} (see Swete) ignores the particle. Elsewhere the particle is found in front of *πας* and we should probably read *συνπας* (comp. e.g. Jer. 35 (42). 18 Field as against Swete). There still remain examples where the signature is specific and *πας* does not follow (comp. Isa. 49. 21 *a' θ'*; Jer. 32 (39). 14 *θ'*, both Swete). It will hardly do on the basis of evidence so scanty to acquiesce in ascribing *συν* c. acc. to *σ'* or *θ'*.

As for the references adduced in the Concordance for the Septuagint, the examples outside Ecclesiastes are all found in additions peculiar to certain MSS. (A and others) and going back to the Hexapla. In one instance, the long passage 3 Kings 14. 1-20, we have the express testimony of a scholion in Syrohex. according to which the whole passage came from *a'*. It will be shown below that that can be understood only *a parte potiori*. As for Ecclesiastes, the safest way to account for *συν* and similar mannerisms reminiscent of *a'* is to say that we are dealing with a translator who though not *a'* himself belonged to the same school as *a'* (see on this question Graetz, *Kohélet*, 174 ff.; Renan, *L'Ecclesiaste*, 54 ff.; Klostermann, *De libri Coheleth versione Alexandrina*, 41 ff.).

³⁴ Comp. Jerome. *l. c.*: 'Quis enim pro frumento et vino et oleo, possit vel legere, vel intelligere, χεῦμα, δπωρισμόν, στυλπνότητα, quod nos possumus dicere *fusionem, pomationemque, et splendentiam?*—As for יָנַן, compare Arab. دَجَن (rain, pour) which Saadya employs for that word, comp. Merx's *Archiv*, I, 51, n. 2.

object numbered after each element of a compound number, as Gen. 5. 5 ἑννακόσια ἔτος καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτος for שְׁנָה וּשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה מֵאֹת שָׁנָה.³⁵

8. It is not always, however, in a tone of scorn that Aquila's literalness is spoken of. Both Origen and Jerome, whose words of condemnation have been alluded to, at other times indulge in words of praise. Thus the Greek Father speaks of Aquila as 'having striven emulously to bring out the proper meaning of words' (ὁ κυριώτατα ἐρμηνεύειν φιλοτιμούμενος Ἀκύλας),³⁶ and the Latin designates him an 'industrious and painstaking translator, very learned in the Greek language' (*diligens et curiosus interpres . . . eruditissimus linguae Graecae*).³⁷ And this twofold verdict has been repeated ever since down to our own day. Thus Voss refers to Aquila's version as 'obscure and unseemly in the extreme, devoid of sense' (*obscurissima et distortissima et nullam sensus rationem habuisse videretur*).³⁸ Burkitt says of the Fragment published by him: 'It is written in Greek more uncouth than has ever before issued from the Cambridge University Press';³⁹ and Thackeray speaks of Aquila's 'barbarous version'.⁴⁰ On the other hand there are not lacking, according to Field, evidences of elegance and, so far as the vocabulary is concerned, traces of the influence of Homer and Herodotus.⁴¹

9. There is no gainsaying the pedantic literalness of Aquila's version imparting to it, as it does on the whole,

³⁵ Epiphanius, *De Mens. et Pond.*, ed. Lagarde (*Symmicta*, I), 154.

³⁶ Quoted by Field, p. xxi.

³⁷ See Comm. on Hosea, 2. 16-17 (Vallarsi, VI, 25); on Isa. 49. 5-6 (Vallarsi, IV, 564). See also Epist. 32 ad Marcellam (Vallarsi, I, 152) and Comm. on Hab. 3. 11-13 (Vallarsi, VI, 656).

³⁸ Quoted by Hody, *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus*, p. 578.

³⁹ *JQR.*, X (1898), 208.

⁴⁰ *l.c.*, 9.

⁴¹ p. xxiii f.

the character of an interlinear. The extreme fidelity to the Hebrew and the offences against the genius of the Greek language show themselves in a variety of ways. To begin with, Aquila adheres closely to the Hebrew form of proper names and that in the pronunciation of his day. We can understand well enough why Joshua becomes with him *Ιωσωνα* instead of *Ιησους*; ⁴² but he also writes and treats as indeclinables *Ελκιαον* (Θ *Χελκias*, r. *Χελκias*), *Ιωσιαον* nom. and gen. (Θ *Ιωσ(ε)ias*, *Ιωσ(ε)ια*), *Μενασσε* (Θ *Μανασσης*), *Μωση* gen. (Θ *Μωυση* or *Μωυσεως*), *Σο]λωμω* (Θ *Σάλωμων*)—*τοις Ασθαρωθ* (Θ *τη Ασταρτη*)—*Βηθηλ* (Θ *Βαιθηλ*), *Τ(ε)ιων*,⁴³ Ps. 101 (102). 17, 22 (Θ *Σ(ε)ιων*)—*φεςα* 4 Kings 23 (comp. also *φεσε*, Deut. 16. 1 and *φασε(χ)* Joshua 5. 10; Θ *πασχα*). Even the *nomen gentilitium*, though Hellenized usually, is sometimes found in an altogether Hebrew garb; comp. Gen. 14. 3 *אַמֹרִי* = *Ἀμωρί*; *נַחֲשֹׁנִי* = *Γηρσοννει*, Num. 3. 23; *שָׁמְרַי* = *Σαμραμεί*, Num. 26. 20 (24); *מַעֲכָהִי* = *Μαχαθί*, Deut. 3. 14 [but in this particular *a'* does not stand out by himself. M]. The impression produced upon a Greek ear may be likened to the aversion with which in a modern Jewish translation some such transliterations as Joshiyyahu, Moshe, Shelomoh, Tsiyyon, Pesa(c)h would be received.⁴⁴ It should be borne in mind,

⁴² See above, § 5.

⁴³ The *τι* apparently is meant to bring out the specific pronunciation of *Σ*. Another example is *εν ετιειμ* for *עִימִי* Ezek. 30. 9: *εν ετιειμ* = *β* (= *εν*) + *ετιειμ*. Comp. with both *τιαδη* B* for the letter *צדי* Lam. 1-4.

⁴⁴ As for the manner in which the Septuagint deals with proper names, see Thackeray, § 11. The extreme of Hellenization is found in 1 Esdras and Josephus: Thackeray, § 11. 2. As for *φασεχ*, it is found outside *a'* in *σ'* (Exod. 12. 11, 27; Num. 9. 2; Joshua 5. 10) and in Θ only in 2 Chron. 30 and 35 (see Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 67) and Jer. 38 (31). 8, where the translator misread *עֶזְרָה וְיִשְׁכָּנֹבֶל* as *בְּמוֹעֵד פֶּסַח* *εν ξορτη φασεκ*. *a'* probably wrote *φεςα* or *φεσε* but hardly *φασεχ*; see Chapter II.

10. In the second place, Aquila's pedantry is revealed in coinages intended to bring out the Hebrew etymology

⁴⁶ The following is a list of such names with their Greek equivalents:

⁴⁷ The subject is dealt with by A. Deissmann in a monograph 'Die Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus', in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, 1903, 161-77.

⁴⁸ Thus כְּנִשְׁתָּא וְהַשְׁוִלְמִית ; בזמן דצבותך למעבר רעותי וְ פְתָרְצָה ; דִּישְׁרָאֵל וִידַעִין לִמְנֵי הוֹשְׁבֵנִי עֲבוּרִין וּמַעֲבֵרִין שְׁנִין וּקְבַעִין רִישֵׁי וְ בְּחֻשְׁבֹּן ; דִּישְׁרָאֵל וִידַחִין וְרִישֵׁי שְׁנִין .

which, as the case may be, is either real or imaginary. Thus, in addition to the standard example adduced above,⁴⁹ the following instances are instructive:⁵⁰ ἀγνόημα being the equivalent of either מְשִׁיבָה or מְשִׁיבָה, ἀγνοηματίζειν is formed to render מְשִׁיבָה; ἄλαλος being used for מְשִׁיבָה, ἀλαλεῖν and ἀλαλοῦν pass. are coined for מְשִׁיבָה; ἀλοιφή = מְשִׁיבָה, hence ἀλοιφή = מְשִׁיבָה; ἀναβόλαιον is a's word for מְשִׁיבָה, and in conformity with it he renders מְשִׁיבָה and מְשִׁיבָה by ἀναβολεῖσθαι; ἀνόητος = מְשִׁיבָה, hence ἀνοητίζειν pass. = מְשִׁיבָה; ἀνυπερθεσία = מְשִׁיבָה, ἀνυπερθετεῖν = מְשִׁיבָה; ἀσύνετος = מְשִׁיבָה, ἀσυνετίξεσθαι = מְשִׁיבָה; ἀφημένον = מְשִׁיבָה from ἀφή = מְשִׁיבָה; βελτιοῦν or βελτύνειν = מְשִׁיבָה from βελτίον = מְשִׁיבָה; βρωματίζειν = מְשִׁיבָה from βρώμα = מְשִׁיבָה or מְשִׁיבָה; διαβηματίζειν = מְשִׁיבָה from διάβημα = מְשִׁיבָה or מְשִׁיבָה; διαδηματίξεσθαι = מְשִׁיבָה with a view to διάδημα = מְשִׁיבָה; ἐκλεκτοῦν pass. = מְשִׁיבָה niph. and ἐκλεκτός = מְשִׁיבָה and ἐκλεκτόν = מְשִׁיבָה (corn); ἐπιστήμων = מְשִׁיבָה, ἐπιστημοῦν = מְשִׁיבָה; εὐζωνία = מְשִׁיבָה, εὐζωνίζειν = מְשִׁיבָה; εὐπρεπής for מְשִׁיבָה gave rise to εὐπρεπεῖν or εὐπρεποῦν for מְשִׁיבָה, similarly εὐπρεπίζειν pass. for מְשִׁיבָה; θυρεοῦν for מְשִׁיבָה arose from θυρέος = מְשִׁיבָה; κατάρροια pl. = מְשִׁיבָה from καταρρεῖν = מְשִׁיבָה; λαιλαπίζειν = מְשִׁיבָה from λαίλαψ = מְשִׁיבָה or מְשִׁיבָה; λεπτόν = מְשִׁיבָה from λεπτός = מְשִׁיבָה; λιθολογείσθαι = מְשִׁיבָה from λιθολογία = מְשִׁיבָה; μοναχοῦν = מְשִׁיבָה from μοναχός = מְשִׁיבָה; ὀρνίζειν = מְשִׁיבָה from ὄρνειν = מְשִׁיבָה; ὀστέινος = מְשִׁיבָה, ὀστέωσις = מְשִׁיבָה, and ὀστοῖνος again = מְשִׁיבָה are all due to ὀστέον or ὀστοῦν = מְשִׁיבָה; ὀχλάζειν = מְשִׁיבָה comes from ὄχλος = מְשִׁיבָה; παραπληκτεῖσθαι = מְשִׁיבָה from παραπληξία = מְשִׁיבָה; παραφέρων = מְשִׁיבָה with an allusion to מְשִׁיבָה; περίβλεπτα = מְשִׁיבָה combined with the root מְשִׁיבָה, comp. ⑩ Exod. 2. 12; πρασιδ-

⁴⁹ See § 7.

⁵⁰ The greater number has been collected by Field (p. xxii); see also Burkitt, p. 13; but I have been able to make several additions.

ζεσθαι and πρᾶσσοσθαι = עָרַב owe their origin to πρᾶσιᾶ = עָרַבָה; σκανδαλοῦν pass. = פָּשַׁל or נָכַשׁ is derived from σκάνδαλον = מְכַשֵּׁל; στερεωματίζειν for רָקַע from στερέωμα = רָקַע; σφικτήρ = שָׁפָץ because it also renders מְשַׁבֵּץ; σφοδρότης = מָאֵד subst. from σφόδρα = מָאֵד adv.; ταραχή = רָנַע with an allusion to רָנַע; τενοντοῦν for עָרַף is due to τένων = עָרַף; ἡ τιθηνός = מִיִּנְהָת gave rise to τιθηνιζόμενον or τιθιζόμενον or τιθιζόμενον for יִנְהָת; ὑποσπᾶσθαι for נִשְׁמַט originated ὑποσπασμός for שְׁמָטָה; χερμαδίζειν for דָּרַג is with a view to χερμάς, a large pebble or stone.

11. A mannerism which is paralleled in rabbinic hermeneutics (נוטריון)⁵¹ consists in breaking up a pluri-literal into two elements. Thus Exod. 32. 25 לְשִׁמְצָה = εἰς ὄνομα ῥύπου, i. e. לְשִׁים צָהָה; Lev. 2. 14 בְּרִמָּל = ... ἀπαλά or ἀπαλόν pointing to מַל [מַל is left unexpressed, as it is covered by נֶרֶשׁ ἐρικτά s. ἐρικτόν Θ. Similarly 23. 14 οἱ λῶ ἀπαλά καὶ λεπιστά refers to כֶּרֶמַל—contrast Field. M]; 16. 8 לְעִנְיָאֵל = εἰς τράγον ἀπολυόμενον, i. e. לְעֵז אֵז; 1 Kings 6. 8 צִלְמִינָה = ἐν ὕφει κουράς, i. e. בְּאֶרֶץ הָאֵז; Job 28. 3 *et al.* צִלְמִינָה = σκιά θανάτου, i. e. צִלְ מָוֶת; Ps. 15 (16). 1 מְבַתֵּם = ταπεινόφρονος καὶ ἀπολὺς (and elsewhere ταπεινὸς τέλειος), i. e. מֶךְ חֵם; Eccles. 12. 5 חַת חֲתִים = τρόμφ τρομήσουσιν, i. e. חַת חֲתִים; Isa. 27. 8 בְּכַפָּאָה = ἐν σάτῳ σάτον, i. e. בְּכַפָּאָה; 41. 12 בְּיִפְיִת = στόμα στομάτων, i. e. בְּיִפְיִת; Hos. 8. 13 הִבְהִי = φέρε φέρε, i. e. הִב הִב;⁵² Mic. 2. 8 וְאַתְמוֹל = καὶ συναντιῶ ... where

⁵¹ See Middah XXX in the Baraita of R. Jose the Galilean (ed. Katzenellenbogen, pp. 173 ff.); Malbim on Sifra, section ויקרא, § קנב.

⁵² On צִלְמִינָה being a compound, comp. Nöldeke in *ZAW.*, XVII (1897), pp. 183 ff. Kautzsch, on the other hand, assumes the reading צִלְמוֹת from the stem צָלַם (Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁸, § 30 r, note).—It is rather strange to find that *a'*, while decomposing components or quadriliterals, failed to do it in the case of אֶבְרָהָה, which, according to Jewish tradition, stands for אֶבְרָהָה (Gen. i., sect. 90), but which *a'* renders by γονατίζειν (הֶבְרָהָה). Some-

it is evident that he construed it in the sense of וְאֶת־מִוִּל; comp. ⑤, Ibn Ġanaḥ and Rashi who likewise derive it from מוֹל, also Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 777: *conflatum ex* אֶת, *apud, ad et* מוֹל, מוֹל; and with him Olshausen, *Gram.*, p. 435, Böttcher, *Gram.*, I, 136, and Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 132.

12. It was clearly Aquila's aim to accommodate the Greek to the minutest points of the Hebrew idiom. He imitates the ה locale by Greek post-positive -δε. Thus Gen. 12. 9 הִנְיָבָה = νότονδε [comp. Joshua 18. 14 הִנְיָבָה = νότον δέ for νότονδε, not recognized by Field. M]; Exod. 28. 26 בִּיתָה = οἰκόνδε; Num. 2. 10 תִּימָנָה = νότονδε; 3 Kings 22. 49 אֹפִירָה = Ὠφείρδε; 4 Kings 16. 9 קִירָה = Κυρήνηδε; Ps. 67 (68). 7 אֶחָיָה = λεωπετρίανδε; Ezek. 8. 16 קִרְיָה = ἀρχιθέινδε.⁵³ Similarly he renders אֶף by καίπερ, while אִפּוֹא at least once (Isa. 22. 1) = καίπερτοι.

Compound particles are slavishly reproduced so that no element of the Hebrew is lost in the Greek. Thus Gen. 2. 8 מִקְדָּם = ἀπὸ ἀρχῆθεν; 18 הִנְיָדָו = ὥς κατέναντι αὐτοῦ; 2 Kings 6. 14 לִפְנֵי = πρὸ προσώπου; 7. 8 גִּאֲחָר = ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν; 4 Kings 19. 25 לְמִרְחוֹק = εἰς ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, and לְמִימֵי קָדָם = εἰς ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν ἀρχῆθεν; 23. 15, 19, 24 וְגַם = καὶ καίγε and 27 מֵעַל פְּנֵי = ἀπὸ ἐπὶ προσώπου μου; Job 9. 29 לְמַהֲרָה = εἰς τὸ τοῦτο, contrast ⑤ διὰ τί; Jer. 31 (38). 34 לְמִקְטָנָם = εἰς ἀπὸ μικροῦ αὐτῶν; 42 (49). 8 לְמִקְטָן = εἰς ἀπὸ μικροῦ; Exod. 12. 37

times he even combines two separate words, as Isa. 2. 20 לְחַפֵּר פְּרוֹת, which the Masorah separates but which א', like most other versions, reads together, rendering it by ὀρυκτοῖς sive ὀρύκταις.

⁵³ The cases of deviation are usually doubtful. Thus Joshua 5. 1 יָמָה = παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν is ascribed to οἱ λ, while תִּרְצָתָהּ = εἰς τὴν Σαμάρᾶ occurs in the well-questioned fourteenth chapter of 3 Kings (ver. 17).—On the misuse of ה locale in the Samaritan and Septuagint versions, comp. Frankel, *Vorstudien*, p. 197, notes *l* and *m*.

לְבַר מִן = χωρὶς ἀπό (but j^m in BM χωρὶς c. genit.). Where Hebrew and Greek constructions do not tally, the Greek is sacrificed to the Hebrew. Thus Gen. 1. 5, 8, 10 לָרֵא = ἐκάλεσεν τῶ...; 1. 28 בָּרָה ב' = ἐπικρατεῖν ἐν; 3 Kings 17. 22 בָּקוּל... וַיִּשְׁמַע = καὶ ἤκουσε... ἐν φωνῇ; Ps. 26 (27). 1 מִי אֵיךְ = ἀπὸ τίνος φοβηθῶ; *ibid.*, 12 קִמְדֵּי = ἀνέστησαν ἐν ἐμοί; Isa. 19. 4 יִמְשְׁלֵם = βασιλεύσει ἐν αὐτοῖς. Similarly the Hebrew construction of the positive with מִן in the sense of the comparative or superlative is imitated in the Greek garb. Thus Gen. 3. 2 (1) מ' עָרִים = πανοῦργος ἀπό; Isa. 7. 13 מִכֶּם הַמַּעַט = μῆτι δλίγον ἀπὸ ὑμῶν.—Distributive constructions are reproduced with utmost fidelity to the Hebrew. Comp., for instance, Lev. 24. 15; Num. 1. 4 אִישׁ אִישׁ = ἀνὴρ ἀνὴρ; Num. 28. 13 עֶשְׂרֹן עֶשְׂרֹן = δέκατον δέκατον; Joshua 3. 12 לְשִׁבְתָּ אָחֳרָי אִישׁ אָחֳרָי = ἀνδρα ἕνα <ἀνδρα ἕνα> τοῦ σκήπτρου.⁵⁴ The Hebrew *pronomen absolutum cum participio* becomes in Greek *pronomen absolutum* + the substantive verb superadded to the present, past, or future tense. Thus Exod. 8. 29 (25) יוֹצֵא יוֹאֲנָכִי = ἐγώ εἰμι ἐξερχομαι (BM), contrast וְיָגֹד יִגְדֵּי = ἐγὼ ἐξελύσομαι; 3 Kings 14. 6 וַיִּנְחֵל יוֹאֲנָכִי שְׁלִיחַ = καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἀπόστολος; Eccles. 11. 5 יוֹרֵעַ יוֹרֵעַ אֵינִי = οὐκ εἶ σὺ εἰδώς; Jer. 31 (38). 32 וַיִּנְחֵל יוֹאֲנָכִי בְּעֶלְתִּי בָם = καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἐκυρίευσα (αὐτῶν) with which contrast σ' ἐγὼ δὲ κατεῖχον αὐτούς; 33 (40). 9 וַיִּנְחֵל אֵינִי = ἐγὼ εἰμι ποιήσω; 38 (45). 26 מִפִּיל־אֵינִי = ῥίπτω ἐγώ εἰμι, contrast σ' προσπίπτω. The emphatic Hebrew pronoun is faithfully reproduced. Thus, e. g., Jer. 49. 12 (29. 13) וַיִּתָּקֵה הוּא = καὶ σὺ αὐτός. Where a particle is repeated after a conjunction, a free translator might ignore the particle in the sequel; not so Aquila. See, e. g., Gen. 1. 4 בֵּין... וּבֵין = μετὰξὺ... καὶ μετὰξὺ. The idiomatic construction ב'... ב' =

⁵⁴ See Field's note. The omission was due to lipography.

is slavishly reproduced, comp. Isa. 24. 2 בַּעֲבֹר בְּאֶרְצִי = ὥς ὁ δούλος, ὥς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ.⁵⁵ On the whole Aquila imitates the Hebrew with its co-ordinate constructions.⁵⁶ Naturally enough, the Hebrew ethical dative and the retrospective pronoun (*'ā'id*) in relative clauses are accurately imitated. Examples of the former are: Deut. 1. 40 וְאַתָּה פָּנִי לָכֶם = καὶ ὑμεῖς νεύσατε αὐτοῖς; 10. 11 לָךְ קוֹם = ἀνάστηθι σαυτῶ (א' apparently read לָךְ); Isa. 40. 9 עֲלִי-לָךְ = ἀνάβηθι σεαυτῇ. As to the *'ā'id* comp. Gen. 1. 30 אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ = ὃ ἐν αὐτῷ; Exod. 3. 5 עָלַי . . . אֲשֶׁר = . . . ἐπ' αὐτοῦ; 35. 23 אֲשֶׁר-נִמְצָא אֹתוֹ = ὃ εὗρέθη σὺν αὐτῷ; Deut. 11. 11 אֲשֶׁר אָתָּם עֲבָרִים שָׁפָה = οὗ (var. ἥν) ὑμεῖς διέρχεσθε ἐκείσε; Ezek. 9. 6 אֲשֶׁר עָלַי = ἐφ' ὃν ἐπ' αὐτῷ.⁵⁷ The same holds good of expletives like הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה, וְהִנֵּה, and the like which in a free translation might be lost. Particles like אֵל, אֵל; אֵל, אֵל; אֵל, אֵל are clearly distinguished.⁵⁸ The connective particle ו, whether plain or consecutive, is translated by καί. The few cases with δέ should be referred to Θ to which it is peculiar. When our translator does employ δέ it is usually with a strong adversative force. Aquila further imitates the Hebrew in placing or omitting the article⁵⁹ and in *'idāfeh* constructions.

⁵⁵ Hence Joshua 8. 33 וְלִי בִּי אֵל אֵל סִינַי מִיָּד אֵל סִינַי Syrohex. margin *sine nomine* probably belongs to *a'*.

⁵⁶ The examples are too numerous to quote; contrast, however, my observations below (Chapter II).

⁵⁷ Cases to the contrary, however, are not wanting: thus the ethical dative remains untranslated in Ps. 122 (123). 4 where שְׁכַנְתִּי-לָךְ = ἐνεπλήσθη, while the *'ā'id* is unexpressed in Lev. 21. 21 where בּוֹ אֲשֶׁר = ὃ ἔστιν and Ps. 40 (41). 10, where בּוֹ אֲשֶׁר-בְּטַהַרְתִּי = ὃ ἐπεποιθήσα. But the omission is rare, and on the whole Margolis is justified in maintaining (comp. 'The Hebrew *'ā'id* in the Greek Hexateuch', in *AJSL*, XXIX, 237 ff.) that in the books investigated by him, Aquila and Theodotion are scrupulous in expressing the *'ā'id* in all its forms.

⁵⁸ See Hebrew Index, *s. vv.*

⁵⁹ See Burkitt, 12 f.

Thus, for instance, Ps. 23 (24). 3 בְּמִקְדָּשׁ קָדְשׁ = ἐν τόπῳ ἁγιάσματος αὐτοῦ, contrast וְ ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ; Exod. 4. 10 אִישׁ דְּבָרִים = ἀνὴρ ῥημάτων, contrast σ' εὐλαλος; Ps. 13. 17 צִיר אֲמוֹנִים = ὄμηρος πίστεως, contrast θ' φύλαξ πιστός.

13. A further instance of literalism is found in Aquila's tendency to render Hebrew words by similarly sounding Greek words. To the examples cited by Field (*Prolegomena*, p. xxiii)—אֱלֹן = αἰλῶν Deut. 11. 30; מְכַרְכֵּר = καρχαρούμενον 2 Kings 6. 16; לֵישׁ = λῆς Job 4. 14, &c.—one is tempted to add קֶרֶךְ = κέρας Ezek. 27. 6. But the case is doubtful; Schleusner and Cornill assume that א' read קֶרֶךְ. Possibly, however, א' merely transliterated the Hebrew (read κερες?). Comp. κικεων rd. κικαιων for קִיקְיִן Judges 4. 6; I doubt whether the 'Greek form' of which Field speaks was at all intended. Naturally enough א' makes use of Semitic loan-words in the Greek language antedating the Septuagint, like βᾶτος = בַּת, βύσσος = בִּיץ, χιτών = כִּתְנֹת, σάββατον = שַׁבָּת (from which the verb σαββαρίζειν = שָׁבַת was probably a coinage current among Greek-speaking Jews). But the most important evidence of a singularly painstaking accuracy is Aquila's endeavour to render, as far as possible, the same Hebrew words by the same Greek words, or at any rate to minimize the number of synonymous equivalents. To illustrate this I shall quote some significant Greek words and contrast the number of their Hebrew equivalents as used by the Septuagint and Aquila; of course, we have to bear in mind the fact that we are comparing an individual translation, extant at that only in a fragmentary condition, with a work on which a multiplicity of hands were at work. In the enumeration of the words I follow the plan of Deissmann (see n. 47), the only difference being that here they are arranged according to the

alphabet: ἀγαθός 10. α' 1; ἄγγελος 15. α' 1; ἅγιος 21. α' 1; ἀδικία 36. α' 6; ἀνομία 24. α' 3; ἀνόμημα 8. α' 1; ἀπολλύειν 38. α' 2; ἀπώλεια 21. α' 1; ἀρχή 24. α' 2; ἄρχων 36. α' 3; ἀσέβεια 14. α' 1; ἀσεβής 16. α' 1; βασιλεία 7. α' 1; βασίλειον 6. α' 1; βασιλεύς 9. α' 1; γῆ 15. α' 2; γίγνεσθαι 98. α' 3; διδόναι 53. α' 1; δόξα 25. α' 4; δύναμις 26. α' 3; δύνασθαι 14. α' 1; δυνάστης 22. α' 1; δυνάτος 25. α' 3; ἔθνος 15. α' 3; εἶδωλον 15. α' 5; ἐνισχύειν 14. α' 2; ἐξολεθρεύειν 21. α' 2; ἐργάζεσθαι 14. α' 1; ἔργον 27. α' 4; ἔχειν 59. α' 6; ἐχθρός 15. α' 1; ἡγέσθαι 35. α' 2; θεός 10. α' 4; ἰσχύειν 24. α' 2; ἰσχυρός 24. α' 5; ἰσχύς 27. α' 4; καθαρός 18. α' 1; κακία 11. α' 1; κακός 16. α' 1; κύριος 17. α' 5; λαός 16. α' 1; παροξύνειν 17. α' 2; πλανᾶν 17. α' 3; ποιεῖν 118. α' 2; πόλεμος 8. α' 1; πόλις 6. α' 2; συναγωγή 19. α' 2; ταράσσειν 45. α' 5; τόπος 12. α' 1.

It must also be noticed that among the words common to Aquila and the Septuagint there are such as are used by our translator in a rarer sense than the one in which they are employed by the Septuagint. Thus τροπή which stands in ㉔ for תַּיָּצִי, תַּיָּצִיָּה, or תַּיָּצִיָּה is used by α' for תַּיָּצִי Job 37. 18 (but τ. ῥοπᾶς as in *Auctarium*).

14. The rendering of divine names is a feature not to be ignored in a Bible translation, and Aquila's treatment particularly, owing to its rigidity, should be instructive and interesting. It will be noticed that our translator adheres also here to his rigorous discipline: the Tetragrammaton is transcribed in ancient Hebrew characters 𐤅𐤅𐤅𐤅 in all the continuous fragments that have come to light.⁶⁰ When turned into square characters it assumed

⁶⁰ This is in accord with Origen's statement in his letter to Marcella (*Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, I, 131 and III, 720): *Nonum est tetragrammum, quod ἀνεκφώνητον*, i. e. *ineffabile putaverunt quod his literis scribitur Jod, E, Vau, E.*

the shape וְהוּה (the waw and yod being designated by the same stroke; see Driver, *Notes on Samuel*², p. xxiii). This was then read by the Christian Fathers as Pi Pi in true Greek style.⁶¹ But that it was really pronounced κύριος [= *kere*. M] is attested to by Origen in his comments on Ps. 2. 2: παρὰ δὲ Ἑλλησι τῇ κύριος ἐκφωνεῖται.⁶² This circumstance may account for the fact that in a great majority of the fragments preserved in Field [the *kere*. M] κύριος has taken the place of וְהוּה. At any rate κύριος stands for יהוה (incl. אֲדֹנֵי [but once δεσπότης, Ps. 61 (62). 13. M]), while θεός is used for אֱלֹהִים. This may be styled a rule, for the few exceptions may be disposed of as either untrustworthy or else conditioned by an external circumstance. Thus Ps. 76 (77). 2 and 81 (82). 1 we find אֱלֹהִים = κύριος, but it must be borne in mind that in both these cases אֱלֹהִים occurs twice, and the deviation is probably due to the principle of variation. Job 27. 8 אֱלֹהִים = κύριος (quoted by Klostermann), but this quotation bears the signature οἱ λ, and hence may not be α'. The same is true of Ps. 17 (18). 47, where צִוִּי = θεός and the signature is ο' καὶ πάντες. There remain Gen. 30. 34, Exod. 4. 24, and Isa. 8. 17, in all of which יהוה = θεός. But the former is

Comp. also Jerome in the beginning of the *Prologus Galeatus*: *Nomen Domini tetragrammaton in quibusdam graecis voluminibus usque hodie antiquis expressum litteris invenimus*. [α' is not alone with his transcription of the Tetragrammaton; it occurs in a fragment recently published by Wessely and falsely ascribed by him to α'; it rather belongs to σ', as has been convincingly proved by Mercati, *RB.*, Nouvelle Série, VIII (1911), 266 ff. M.]

⁶¹ Comp. Origen, *ibid.*: *Quod quidam non intelligentes propter elementorum similitudinem, quum in Graecis libris repperint, Pi Pi legere consueverunt*.— On the nature and history of וְהוּה comp. Nestle, 'Jakob von Edessa über den Schem hammephorasch und andere Gottesnamen', in *ZDMG.*, XXXII, 466-9, 507.

⁶² An additional proof is furnished by Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings*, p. 16.

probably corrupt: Θ Ξ α' σ' all point to אלהים as the reading of the Hebrew archetype, and יהוה is therefore a later substitute. The best proof for this assumption is offered by the preceding verse (23) where אלהים is used; comp. further Wiener, *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism*, Oberlin, 1909, pp. 16–17; also Dahse, *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage: I. Die Gottesnamen der Genesis*, Giessen, 1912, p. 42 and elsewhere. [The *lectio difficilior* is certainly יהוה : $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$ of the translations may be an harmonistic accommodation to verse 23. M.] As to Exod. 4. 24, which is ascribed to Aquila alone (σ' θ' have $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron>s$) it is probably due to the fact that יהוה here in the mind of the translator rather signified 'the messenger of God', comp. Θ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron>s$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron>u$ and מלאכא דיי , also b. Nedarim 32 a where the action is ascribed to שמן (var. אורו מלאך). The reason for the circumlocution is obvious, as the act appeared unseemly of the Lord. The same may also be said of the last passage, Isa. 8. 17, which speaks of the Lord hiding His face from the house of Jacob: owing to a scrupulous guarding against anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms Aquila substituted here $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$ for $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron>s$. [Θ has there $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$. M.]

As for the combination אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה , the first element α' certainly expressed by $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron>s$ (miswritten $\pi\iota\pi\iota$ Isa. 3. 15). The second element was probably transcribed by him as $\pi\iota\pi\iota$ (= *ketib*), with the intention that it was to be read $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$. Hence the vacillation of our data (for $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$ comp. Ps. 68 (69). 7). $\pi\iota\pi\iota$ was, however, through the ignorance of the copyists, replaced by $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron>s$. The ascription of $\alpha\delta\omega\nu\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron>s$ to α' Ezek. 7. 5 rests probably on error. Ps. 70 (71). 16 σ' certainly and α' probably divided the combination between the two verse-halves.

שָׁרִי as a rule is translated *ikanós*, being derived from שָׂרִי = sufficient in accordance with Ber. r., c. 46, and b. Hagigah 12 a. Only once, Ezek. 1. 24, is it transliterated *σαδδαι*, but this is ascribed collectively to οἱ λ, while Theodoret records *ikanós* distinctly for α'.

לֵאל = *ischupós*, and in only a few cases *theós*. In two instances where לֵאל is rendered *theós* the ascription is general: Ps. 67 (68). 25 οἱ λ, and 89 (90). 2 οἱ πάντες. In Gen. 16. 11 it is in composition: *ישקצאל* = *εἰσακοῇ θεοῦ*. Exod. 6. 3 שָׁרִי לֵאל = *theós ikanós*, though bearing the signature of α', should be doubted and rather ascribed to σ' and θ' because these two render the same phrase in the same manner, Ezek. 10. 5, and because the Midrash (Ber. r., c. 46) registers for α' *אֱלֹהִים וְאֱנוֹקוֹם* which, as will be proved later, goes back to the Greek *ischupós ikanós* which alone is in keeping with Aquila's mode of translation. Indeed it is more than likely that wherever שָׁרִי לֵאל = *ischupós ikanós* is found *sine nomine* (Gen. 43. 14; 48. 13; Exod. 6. 3) it belongs to Aquila. Comp. Isa. 8. 10, where α' is credited distinctly with *ischupós*, while the reading of the general ascription (οἱ γ') is *theós*.⁶³

As to the article in connexion with divine names, there is every reason to believe that Aquila adhered to the Masoretic Text, writing δ wherever the Hebrew has ה and omitting it where the Hebrew omits it. It is true that our data offer many discrepancies: the article is used about 50 times with אֱלֹהִים, twice each with אֱלֹה and לֵאל, 25 times with יְהוָה, and once with יְה. But these are not to be trusted implicitly, for they are mostly due to the carelessness of the scribes and a tendency to level

⁶³ On the treatment of the divine names in the Septuagint, comp. Frankel, *Einfluss*, pp. 26-30.

σφόδρα ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐ φοβηθησόμεθα ἐν τῷ ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι γῆν καὶ ἐν τῷ σφάλλῃσθαι ὄρη ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλασσῶν ὀχλάσουσιν ἀντικρωθήσονται ὕδατα αὐτοῦ σεισθήσεται ὄρη ἐν τῇ ὑπερηφανίᾳ αὐτοῦ αἰεῖ; contrast Θ εἰς τὸ τέλος ὑπὲρ τῶν υἱῶν κορὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων ψαλμὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καταφυγὴ καὶ δύναμις βοήθς ἐν θλίψεσιν ταῖς εὐρούσαις ἡμᾶς σφόδρα διὰ τοῦτο οὐ φοβηθησόμεθα ἐν τῷ ταρασσεσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ μετατίθεσθαι ὄρη ἐν καρδίαις θαλασσῶν ἤχησαν καὶ ἐταράχθησαν τὰ ὕδατα αὐτῶν ἐταράχθησαν τὰ ὄρη ἐν τῇ κραταιότητι αὐτοῦ διάψαλμα.

Jer. 52. 1 υἱὸς εἴκοσι καὶ ἐνὸς ἔτους Σεδεκίας for מִיָּנִי עַד עֵשְׂרִים וְאֶחָד שָׁנִים, contrast σ' εἴκοσι καὶ ἐνὸς ἐτῶν ἦν Σεδεκίας, similarly θ', while Θ has ὄντος εἰκοστοῦ καὶ ἐνὸς ἔτους Σεδεκίου.

Hos. 11. 1 ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου for מִן מִצְרַיִם קָרָאתִי בְנִי וְאֶחָד שָׁנִים; contrast Θ διότι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ and σ' ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἠγαπημένος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κέκληται υἱός μου.

16. In point of pedantic literalness Aquila's version was certainly a *tour de force*. It is this circumstance apparently that elicited the praise of the rabbis who at the same time, it is true, may have had in mind the obliteration of Christian notions from the Scriptures.⁶⁵ Barring, however, individual coinages which go a long way to stamping his translation as barbarous, a study of his Greek vocabulary serves to verify the observation of scholars ancient and modern concerning Aquila's fine knowledge of Greek,⁶⁶ which is indeed what one would expect of a native Greek who, if we may trust Epiphanius, was related to Emperor Hadrian and entrusted by him

⁶⁵ See below (Chapter III).

⁶⁶ See above, § 8.

with the building of Aelia Capitolina before he abandoned paganism first for Christianity and then for Judaism.⁶⁷ Thus Aquila's mastery of the Greek language is borne out by the richness of his vocabulary. There are some 200 words (or word formations) which none of the other versions nor any other Greek author uses. A few, however, disappear from the list when Herwerden's *Lexicon Suppletorium* is consulted. While some of the formations are apparently Aquila's own coinages, there remain enough to warrant the supposition that he obtained them from some nook or corner which our sources fail to lay bare. Aquila is fond of formations with -λέων (31) and -οὐν (20).

⁶⁷ Aquila is first mentioned in Irenaeus, *adv. haeres.* (quoted in Greek by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* V, 8, 10). But it was not before Epiphanius that an attempt was made to record his life (*de mens. et pond.* 14-15). Epiphanius's story is repeated by the Pseudo-Athanasian author of *Synopsis script. sacr.*, c. 77, and in the *Dialogue between Timothy and Aquila* (*Anecdota Oxon.*, class. ser., pt. VIII).—The chief Jewish sources are, Pal. Megillah 71 c, l. 10: תירגם עקילם הגר התורה לפני ר' אליעזר ולפני ר' יהושע וקילסו אותו ואמרו תירגם עקילם הגר: 1. 10: Pal. Kiddushin 59 a, l. 10: לו יפית מבני אדם לפני ר' עקיבה. A detailed account of Jewish sources is found first in Azariah dei Rossi's *מאור עינים*, c. 45; more complete is Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 82 f.; comp. also the monographs of Anger, *De Onkelo, Chaldaico, quem ferunt, Pentateuchi paraphraste, et quid ei rationis intercedat cum Akila, Graeco Veteris Testamenti interprete*. Part I, *De Akila*, 1845; Friedmann, *Onkelos u. Akylas*, 1896; also Krauss, 'Akylas der Proselyt', in *Festschrift z. achtzigsten Geburtstage M. Steinschneider's*, Germ. div., pp. 148 ff.—A general treatment of Aquila is found in Hody, *De biblicorum textibus*, 573-8; Carpzov, *Critica Sacra Vet. Test.*, 1728, 553-60; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden* IV², pp. 437 ff.; Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 43 ff.; Bleek-Wellhausen, *Einleitung ins A. T.*, § 281; Buhl, *Kanon u. Text des A. T.*, pp. 150-55; Swete, *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek*, pp. 31-42; and finally Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, III⁴, 435-9.—On the relation to Onkelos see also Luzzatto, *Oheb Ger*, 1830; Rapoport, in a series of letters to the latter (comp. *לאחרונים*, *זכרון*, ed. Harkavy, pp. 24 ff. and 56 ff.); Z. Frankel in his works on the Septuagint (*Vorstudien* and *Einfluss*).

As to nouns the suffixes -μός (24), -τής (17), -σις (17), and -μα (16) are met with abundantly. By far the greatest number of the new or peculiar formations⁶⁸ consists of compounds with one or two prepositions. Then some 300 words are employed by Aquila alone among the translators of the Scriptures, but are met with elsewhere in Greek. With the other two Aquila shares 74 words not found in the Septuagint, with Symmachus 99, with Theodotion 43, with Quinta 3, with Sexta 5. The lists are given in full in Appendix I.

17. Despite his extreme literalness Aquila not rarely indulges in free translation and paraphrase, if only such Aquila readings really belong to him. Thus Gen. 30. 8 נִפְתָּלוֹי אֱלֹהִים נִפְתָּלוֹי = συναλέστρεψέν με ὁ θεὸς συναναστροφῆν; ver. 42 וַיְבָרֵךְ אֱלֹהִים הַצֹּאן = καὶ ἐν δευτερογόνοις . . .; 31. 41 עֲשֵׂתָ מְנִים = δεκάκις ἀριθμόν, contrast ver. 7 δέκα ἀριθμούς; 42. 21 אֲשָׁמִים = ἐν πλημμυρίδι; 49. 4 פָּחוּ בַּמַּיִם = ἐθάμβευσας ὡς ὕδωρ, it is not necessary to follow old commentators in presupposing פָּחוּ (comp. Field, note), it is simply a free rendering; Exod. 13. 20 הַמִּדְבָּר בָּרָא = εἰς ἠθαρ (l. ἠθαμ) τὴν ἐρημοτάτην; Deut. 8. 14 לֶבְבְּךָ וְרֵם = καὶ ὑψωθῆς τῇ καρδίᾳ σου; Job 5. 21 מִשּׁוֹר בִּי יָבוֹא = ἀπὸ προνομῆς ἐπερχομένων; 12. 2 תְּמוֹת תְּכַמֶּה וְעַמְּכֶם = καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν τελειώματα σοφίας, *nomen pro verbo*, unless the translator pointed תְּמוֹת (pl. of תָּמָה), comp., however, Isa. 59. 19 where יְהוָה רֵם בּוֹ נִסְתָּה = πνεῦμα κυρίου σύσσημον ἐν αὐτῷ; 15. 20 מִתְחַלֵּל = ἐν ὁδύνῃ; 35. 11 וַיַּעֲזוּף הַשָּׁמַיִם יַחַבְמֶנּוּ = καὶ σοφίζει ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ τὰ

⁶⁸ It becomes evident how precarious are the arguments for a Greek original, say of the Book of Wisdom, based on the presence of compounds in a large number. Contrast J. Freudenthal, 'What is the Original Language of the Wisdom of Solomon?' in *JQR.*, III, 722 ff., and A. T. S. Goodrick, *The Book of Wisdom*. London, 1913, p. 68.

κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα διΰπτάμενα πετεινά (α' θ'); Prov. 8. 18 עֵץ הַיָּם = ὑπαρξίς μετ' εἰρήνης, but θ' ὑπαρξίς παλαιά and σ' βίος παλαιός; Eccles. 12. 4 הַשִּׁיר הַבִּנְיָן = πάντα τὰ τῆς ᾠδῆς while 𐤄 has αἱ θυγατέρες; Isa. 29. 1 הַרְבֵּה הָיָה = πολίχνη βιοτεύσεως (or παρεμβλήσεως) Δαυίδ; 42. 9 הַמַּיִם הַחַיִּים = (πρὸ τοῦ) ἀναφυῆναι; 59. 18 לְעַלְיָן הָיָה הַמַּיִם = ὡς ἐπὶ ἀποδώσει χόλον τοῖς θλίβουσιν; 62. 6 לֵב הָיָה לִּי = μὴ ἡσυχάσητε (α' σ' θ'); Jer. 11. 20 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַזֶּה = τὴν κόλασιν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐξ αὐτῶν; 21. 2 עָלַי הָיָה = πολεμεῖ ἡμᾶς, with which contrast 𐤄 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς and σ' πρὸς ἡμᾶς; 26 (33). 18 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַזֶּה = υἱὸς Μωρασθαί, while 𐤄 has ὁ Μωραθίτης; 32 (39). 40 אֲשֶׁר לֹא שָׁמַע = τοῦ μὴ ἀποστραφῆναι με; 38 (45). 27 הָיָה לִּי = ὅτι οὐκ ἤκουσαν τὸ ῥῆμα, contrast σ' ἠκούσθη ὁ λόγος; 51 (28). 17 הָיָה לִּי = ἐμωράνθη πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὥστε μὴ γινώσκειν, but 𐤄 ἀπὸ γνώσεως; Ezek. 17. 6 הָיָה לִּי = ἵνα τετραμμένοι ὦσιν οἱ κλάδοι αὐτῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, contrast 𐤄 τοῦ ἐπιφαίνεσθαι κ.τ.ε.; 20. 8 הָיָה לִּי = ἡλλαξαν τὸ ῥῆμά μου, contrast 𐤄 καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ and σ' ἠπειθήσαν δέ μοι; 33. 12 הָיָה לִּי = οὐ μὴ συντρίψῃ αὐτόν; *ibid.*, ver. 22 הָיָה לִּי = καὶ οὐκ ἤμην ἄλαλος; 36. 37 הָיָה לִּי = ζήτημα θήσομαι (α' σ' θ'), but 𐤄 ζητηθήσομαι; Hos. 7. 14 הָיָה לִּי = ἀλλὰ ἀσελγῶς ἐλάλησαν, contrast 𐤄 ἀλλ' ἢ ὠλόλυσον; Hab. 3. 14 הָיָה לִּי = ἀποκρύφως.

In the above care has been taken not to mention differences in particles and conjunctions which might be added or omitted by the copyists. But in order to form a correct judgement concerning Aquila's manner of translation it should be borne in mind that sometimes he employs particles which have no equivalents in the Hebrew in order to do justice to the Greek idiom. Thus Isa. 45. 23 הָיָה לִּי = . . . εἰ μὴν ἐξελεύσεται (like 𐤄); εἰς is supplied a number of times (comp. Index) where the context

demands it; similarly ἐξ, ἐν, ἐπί, κατά, πρὸς, ὑπέρ and the like.

Another way of freedom in translation is the rendering of a sing. by a plur. and *vice versa*, where there is no absolute excuse for it, and where the exact equation would not have been a violation of the language into which the translation was made.⁶⁹ Since these cases are noted in their respective places in the Index only a few examples will suffice here. Thus sing./pl. in nouns are: Deut. 28. 48 אֶת־אֲיִבֶיךָ וְעַבְדְּךָ = . . . τῶ ἐχθρῶ σου (a' σ' θ'), but ⑤ has pl.; Job 41. 10 עֲמִישְׁתִּי = παρμὸς αὐτοῦ; Ps. 131 (132). 6 בְּשָׁרִי = ἐν χώρῃ, contrast ⑤ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις; Isa. 41. 9 מַצִּיֹּת = . . . τελευταίου, but ⑤ ἀπ' ἄκρων; Jer. 48 (31). 15 וְעִירָהּ = καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῆς; Dan. 10. 13 מַלְכִּי = βασιλέως. Sing./pl. in verbs: Jer. 14. 22 מְשֻׁמִּים = ὑερίζων (like ⑤). Pl./sing. in nouns: Ps. 1. 2 הַפָּצוּ = βουλήματα αὐτοῦ (a' σ' ε' ε'), but ⑤ θέλημα; Jer. 10. 7 מַלְכוּתָם = βασιλείαις αὐτῶν; Ezek. 27. 16 כִּתְּרֶיהָ = ἔμποροί σου, but ⑤ has sing.; Hab. 1. 10 מִשְׁחָר = γελάσματα, but σ' γέλως. In verbs: Prov. 28. 28 יִפְתָּר = κρυβήσονται; 27. 13 חֲבִלָּהּ = ἐνεχυράσατε αὐτόν; Jer. 9. 10 (9) לֵבָר = παραπορευομένους; Ezek. 29. 4 תִּרְצַן = κολληθήσονται.

⁶⁹ Of course, it must not be overlooked that many such cases of discrepancy in number may be due to *scriptiō defectiva*; comp. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*², pp. lxii ff.

(To be continued.)